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There is no magic in ordinary gardening, but when particularly large crops are desired for special feasts, such as those accompanying circumcision or *malanggan* rites, the planting of the taro is preceded by the making of magic. After the ground is cleared, but before the planting begins, the taro magician makes his magic. Then, if the taro is to be used for an especially large and important feast, the rain magician is called upon to make his magic. A large amount of rain is considered necessary for a good crop of taro.[1]

The first stage in gardening is the clearing of a piece of bush ground, between six and seven hundred square feet in size, always done by a man, assisted sometimes by his son. This takes about two weeks if a man and his son work every day. Sometimes all the men of the hamlet will assist. For instance, all the men of Penguli helped Noas clear bush ground for a new garden, and a feast was held later in the day in payment for their assistance. First, the trees and brush are cut down and left a few days to dry and then burned; after this the place for the fence is "marked" by putting vine along the ground, and holes are made in which the posts of the fence will later be inserted. These holes are made with a long stick, sharpened to a point. The posts are stuck in and afterward the cross-pieces of the fence are laid. Bamboo is the most common material used for fences. Vine is used to tie the logs to the posts. When the ground is completely cleared and the fence finished, the garden is ready to be planted.

Planting is the woman's task, and taro is the chief crop. Very few yams are planted in Lesu, but in other villages (Logagon, Lossuk, etc.) yams are planted along with the taro in large quantities. But even here taro remains the staple

[1] In an exceptionally dry season taro may be transplanted to moist ground along a river. Then if rain should come it may be moved back again to its original place.

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244 crop. The men mark the ground where the taro is to be planted with long, pointed sticks, then the women (usually a woman and her daughter) make holes in the ground, also with a pointed bamboo stick, and one taro stalk or cutting is put in each hole, the earth about the hole being patted down with the stick. The whole garden is planted in this fashion. Sometimes a woman will allow a couple of other women to plant in her garden. In this case small plots are allotted to them and the boundary of each marked by bamboo poles. It may be that one woman is waiting while her husband clears ground for a new garden. In return, the woman will usually give some baked taro to the husband of the woman owner of the garden. Women sometimes assist [476] each other in the garden work. Pulong works frequently in the garden of Maralis, her sister-in-law, and Maralis returns the service by working in Pulong's garden. It takes about ten months before the crop of taro is ready to be harvested. In the interim the women weed the ground and pull out any extra shoots, so that all the strength goes into the remaining one.

244 251 When the crop is ready to be harvested the taro is dug up by the women with the same pointed stick they used in the preliminary operations. The outer layer of dirt is scraped off the taro, which is then piled in the baskets and carried home by the women. If it is not for immediate consumption, i.e. if it is to be kept a day or two in anticipation of a feast, it is hung on poles stretched between trees, or placed on long benches constructed of bamboo poles for this purpose. The hanging on poles is the more usual way.

244 After a crop has been harvested, the land lies fallow for from six to ten years.

A man and his wife will usually have several gardens at one time. While the woman works in one, her husband will be clearing ground for a new one next to it, and

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and forty miles has provided a way of transportation which makes canoes unnecessary.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The work described in the preceding pages has been done both by individuals and by groups. The main occupations, gardening, fishing, cooking, and hunting, all require some form of co-operation. In the gardening it is the members of the immediate family, a man and his wife and children, who work together in the tilling of the ground. Each has his allotted task, the man the clearing of the ground, the woman the planting, etc. The group is enlarged when the man assists his wife's relatives in the clearing of the ground, or the woman works in her sister's garden, or a man calls on the men of the hamlet to help him build a fence. Fishing is also a communal occupation for the men, as is most of the cooking for the women. The size of the group will vary for both these occupations. In fishing it will depend upon the method used and the importance of the event for which the fish are being caught. In cooking, occasionally a mother and her daughter will prepare the evening meal alone, but more frequently it will be all the women of the hamlet, and if the preparations are for a big ritual feast all the women of the village and neighbouring villages will participate. House-building is also co-operative, male members of the family and hamlet helping each other. When the enclosure in which the boys are circumcised was built, all the men of the village helped and all the women cooked for the feast which followed. Members of the same clan help each other, particularly in the financing of the rites.

The organization of this work thus fits into the social structure of family, clan, hamlet, and village. Kinship and locality, two of the determining factors of the social structure, are equally important in setting the frame for the organiza-

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tion of work. The third determining factor, sex, acts in the same way, the sexual division of labour being most marked in its organization. The social organization thus provides the mechanism for the necessary co-operation, for it is kinship, locality, and sex which determine who participates in a given task.

The work is initiated to fulfil certain needs, such fundamental necessities as food and shelter being most important. Other needs not so strictly biological are those connected with ritual and social events, including the accumulation of food, the building of houses, and the making of carvings and masks.

The actual initiation of the work is by those who experience the need. In the communal or village work, connected with the *malanggan* and circumcision rites, it is the man or men who are making the *malanggans* for their dead relatives, and the clan relatives of the boys being circumcised, who initiate all the work connected with these rites. In a similar way it is the man whose house leaks, or whose garden fence needs to be rebuilt, who initiates the building, in which the members of his hamlet will cooperate.

The work is not without its stimuli. Work for one's self brings a reward in the fruits of labour: a catch of fish, a crop of taro, or a new house. Work for others receives payment. We have noted the feasts for the payment of workers on a new house or a garden fence. Women who have prepared food for a communal rite are given food in return. All services, magical and medical, are rewarded. Even those who dance at the mortuary rites and carry the corpse to the grave receive payment. Nothing is ever done for nothing in this community, and payment is one of the stimuli to work. Work by a large part of the male section of the village is aided by singing and festive decorations of the workers. In the building of the enclosure for the initiation of the boys the men's singing and their floral decorations were noted.

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Corresponding to these stimuli there is the sociability and camaraderie among the women who cook communally.

There is very little, almost no direction of work. The techniques are well known, and it is not necessary for anyone to give directions to scrape taro or thatch a roof. The work follows the traditional rules learned in childhood. A certain direction or organization occurs in fishing, when the man who sights the fish gives the call, but this could hardly be called bossing. This lack of leadership in communal undertakings is quite striking to the observer. One or two men act as masters of ceremonies and make the necessary speeches at these rites, as, for example, Sola and Buibui at the initiation rites at Ponatlege, but there was no one man or woman bossing the communal cooking preparations for these rites. They have been initiated by those most interested, and the work then follows along traditional lines. There is a similar lack of policing at the inter-village rites where hundreds of people are gathered together By some kind of mutual consent the crowd does not press unduly upon the clearing used as a stage, and are considerate of each other in their desire to see the rites. This holds for rites lasting several days and nights, when both onlookers and participants have had little sleep and are weary. I witnessed many such rites, and never did I see any pushing or quarrelling for advantageous places, such as marks similar crowds in our society.

The newly introduced Government work on the roads is in direct contrast with the native manner of working at their own occupations. All natives, male and female, are required to give three days a week to work on the road, mending the holes in it and keeping it in good condition. On these days the "Luluai," Government-appointed chief, blows his conch shell early in the morning to assemble the people. They come to the road in front of his house, the women standing or squatting (squatting on toes the usual position) in one group apart from the men.

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unit, want to make a *malanggan* for Watlau, who has been dead for some time. Kanot is his son and Poinbi his maternal nephew.[1] Poinbi is the one who comes to Lesu to buy the *malanggan* and attends to all the business concerning it. Kanot goes to Tabar, where he has clan relatives, in order to get their financial assistance for the enterprise.

In the middle of August Poinbi comes to Lesu and makes arrangements to buy from Palou the right to make the *Puiba malanggan* of the *Sasabwan* class. Palou is the leading old man of the Sinpop clan, and learned the design and rites connected with the *Puiba malanggan* from his maternal uncle and grandfather. They had learned it in a dream from their *gas*. Palou consents to sell it, and thus relinquishes his right to make this particular kind of *malanggan*. It is understood that the payments will be made when it is finished and the rites are held.

Poinbi returns to Logagon, and a few days later the making of the *malanggan* begins. All the men from Penguli (Palou's hamlet) go to the bush to cut down a tree trunk; they come back in the afternoon singing gaily as they walk with their heavy load. There is a festive air about the beginning of the undertaking. Later Palou pays them with tobacco and coconuts. A small house is now made on the beach near the cemetery, and Palou marks its completion with a feast for all the men who have helped build it. He buys a pig from Manumat for the occasion, and there are also taro and coconuts. Palou will pay the women who have contributed the taro after he has been paid by Poinbi at the conclusion of the rites.

Kanua, the skilled carver of Lesu, now begins to work. Palou pays him one *tsera* in advance, and sits with him in the little house, showing him how to carve the *malanggan*.

[1] There is thus a contradiction here—a clan and a non-clan relative co-operating to make a *malanggan* for the same dead person. This is one of the exceptions always occurring in any functioning society.

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482 BURDEN CARRYING--methods of carrying burdens (e.g., on head, shoulders, back); gear (e.g., head pad, tumpline, carrying pole, pack basket); specialists in burden carrying (e.g., porters, coolies); uses (e.g., on safari); etc.
See also:

Water carrying 312
Gathering of firewood 313
Litters 493
Transport of corpse to place of disposal . . . 784
Methods of carrying infants 854

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844 851 footpath through the bush leading from the road to the beach, and led by Maerabit, they yelled loudly, announcing their approach. As soon as they arrived, they filed into the house where the new baby was lying. In many little ways they showed their affection and joy in the new child, patting him and "crowing" over him. The infant's mother was not with him, but was in the cook-house preparing taro, and her mother was with the baby.

844 851 431 The women filed out of the house, and in their usual nonchalant manner sat on the ground waiting for the distribution of food. Murri, the infant's mother's brother, was master of ceremonies, and stood by the pile of coconuts and made a short speech, saying that these coconuts and taro were for the new infant, that this was only a small distribution of food, but that later they would have a much bigger feast. He was then assisted by the matrilineal grandfather of the infant in the distribution of the food to the women, who had all brought coconuts to the feast, and thus contributed as well as received them. First, each woman was given four coconuts, which was regarded as a new gift, then she received a large pile which was considered as a return gift for those she contributed. Each woman fills her basket with the taro and coconuts. They all walk home together, with the baskets on their backs.[1]

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844 Women of the opposite moiety have celebrated the arrival of a new member to the community by playfully fighting each other for months before he arrived and on the day of his birth. He was ushered into the world in feminine company; his grandmother and other women of his hamlet were

[251] [1] Usually, at this feast, some of the taro has been prepared in a special way months in advance. The inside is scooped out and it is baked and hung up on the ceiling of the house to dry for many months. The resulting taro is hard and brittle, quite different from the ordinary baked taro and is considered a delicacy. The few who know this method usually begin preparations as soon as they hear of a pregnancy, and long before the actual birth.

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CARRYING THE BABY AND A LOAD FROM THE GARDEN

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MOTHER NURSING HER BABY

[Facing p. 71]

when preparing the food. Some of the food has been set aside for the dozen or so men who are present, and they and the young boys now eat together at a place some distance from the women. All of the turtle goes to the men, for no other reason, I was told, than that they like it. It is not taboo to the women. They, in the meantime, eat some of the food and put the remainder in the baskets, with the bundles of taro received from women of the opposite moiety. Then each woman lifts the heavy basket of food to her back, if she has a baby puts him on top of the basket, and trudges home. For those who came from Lesu the distance is three miles, and they arrive home as the sun is setting.

When the infant is born those wishing to give the child their name indicate their desire, and immediately the child will be known by the name, or names. But they will not be considered really his names until after the appropriate feast and exchange of *tsera* (currency) has been made. This occurs some time within the first two months after birth. It is a clan relative—a maternal uncle or aunt or grandmother—who gives the name.

About two and a half months after the birth feast just described a naming feast is held for the same infant, at which about sixty men and boys are present. Unlike most of the men's feasts, it takes place in the open compound of the hamlet, and not in the cemetery. The preceding day the women of Ambwa, assisted by a few from Lesu, cook the taro. The child's mother contributes the pig. Both the men —the maternal uncle and maternal grandfather—who give their names to the infant, have already given one *tsera* (shell currency) to the child, who (through his mother) has in return also given each of them one *tsera*. It is the usual reciprocal exchange. At the feast Kadua, an Ambwa man, makes a long speech, the gist of which is that this is a feast for the naming of the child. Kadua is no kin to

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communal cooking. It is a masculine task to bring in the leaves which are used for wrapping the taro and for covering the *liga*, and in this duty the boys render great assistance. At the feast, when the men were making plans for some communal rites, the speaker told the boys to bring in leaves, and that if they did not they would get nothing to eat. While this was greeted by laughter on the part of the boys, they later hastened to bring in the leaves. A boy is seen carrying a load of leaves bigger than he is, or helping his father clean the fish. He may also shred a coconut, a masculine task. He will watch his father and the other men as they prepare a pig to be baked. A boy of eleven helps his father to clear the bush ground for a new garden, but this is not work that takes up much of his time, for new gardens are not made every day.

The boys share with the girls the duties of taking care of their younger sisters and brothers, but even that leaves them more free time than girls. They frequently stroll through the bush, playing in the water, or on the beach, at the same time looking after their little brothers. I never saw a similar group of girls. These boys have access to the men's house and are present at all the masculine rites and feasts, where they receive their share of the food, listen to the speeches, and witness trading transactions. They are quiet on these occasions, obviously enjoying their food and never interrupting or taking any part in the proceedings. Even their seniors, youths and young men, listen respectfully as the old men talk. The fact that the boys of a village are circumcised together when they are about eight or ten years of age, that they then spend several months excluded from all females, that after this they sleep in the men's house, must help to set this pattern of age grouping among them.[1] There is no similar rite for any group of girls.

Within a group of boys, one often finds a pairing off of two boys and the formation of particular friendships. This occurs

[1] The circumcision rites will be described in the following chapter.

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572 most often between a boy of ten or twelve and an older boy
857 of sixteen or seventeen. It is, as far as I could observe, a kind of hero worship on the part of the younger boy. The two are companions and friends, walk around arm in arm or hand in hand, and the younger one acts as a fag to the older, obeying the orders of the latter. If the two are occupied in some joint task, such as carrying water, it is the younger who
● [482] will carry the heaviest and longest bamboo trunk filled with water.[1] This division of labour is the rule among all groups of boys, whether there are pairs of friends within the group or not. The friendship between two boys of different ages
572 is frequently found between two boys of the same clan.
857 Lagawa, a boy of about ten years, is a member of the *Solema*
574 clan and lives in the hamlet of Ponambatawa, at one end of
593 the village of Lesu. At the other end of the village, in the hamlet of Penguli, lives Ladawin, a boy in his late teens and also of the *Solema* clan. Ladawin and Lagawa are very good friends. One day Lagawa came to Penguli to visit Ladawin and stayed with him in the men's house. After about a week's time, Lagawa's father came to take him home. The boy refused to go and sat on the ground sobbing. Then the father took him by the hand, but still the boy refused to rise or move. The father tried to drag him along the ground, but gave up the attempt. Ladawin and a few members of the boy's clan stood to one side and said nothing. A few other men who were there talked kindly to the boy, advising him to go home, and saying that later he could come for another visit. But the boy continued to weep and did not move. Finally, the father walked off without his son. After he had

[1] Frequently water was carried for me by a whole group of boys, particularly when I needed a large quantity for developing photographs. Each time I noticed that the smaller boys carried the heaviest loads, while the older boys brought the smallest containers. I casually mentioned the matter to one of the older boys, who took the division of tasks quite as a matter of course and did not even think it worth talking about. It was the accepted pattern between younger and older boys.

881 singing, until they come to the hamlet of Ponatlege, where the enclosure is to be built. Ridis, an old man, leads in the singing. When they arrive at Ponatlege the women and girls (about 150 of them) are already sitting on the ground in the open compound preparing the taro to be baked. The men and boys pass by them and proceed to the beach, where they put down their bamboo poles and lay them lengthwise. Ongas, the chief of Lesu, and known for his building skill, is in command of the work. Poles are stuck [417] in the ground as a support for the split bamboo logs, which are laid on top of each other, thus making a fence about 30 feet high for the large enclosure, which is approximately 45 by 100 feet. There is no roof. As they labour the men sing. Young boys watch the work with interest. The name for this enclosure is *nogu*, which is the name for any fence made of split wood.

While the enclosure is constructed the women scrape the taro, laying them on the banana leaves, sprinkle the shredded coconut over it, and bind it all up into a bundle. Some of the men not occupied in building the enclosure make the *liga*, the piles of hot stones. In a few hours' time the taro is all wrapped in bundles and put in the *liga*, which is then completely covered with leaves and sand; the main part of the latter work is done by the men, but the women assist. The men have also prepared a pig, which is being baked in a separate *liga*.

The enclosure has been finished. The men and women sit in the compound or at ease on the beach, chatting. The men are in groups apart from the women. Soon the *kolamuth* [534] (a hollowed tree-trunk used as a drum) is sounded inside the enclosure, and the men wend their way there. Some of [482] them carry on their shoulder poles to which coconuts are tied. The food is removed from the *liga* and other men carry part of it into the enclosure. The women pile the remainder in their baskets. It is early afternoon now and the men eat in

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in carrying it. A moderately large pig is carried on a pole resting on the shoulders of two men. A very large one requires four men to carry it.

The pig belongs to the man who has hunted it, but if he has had other men's dogs with him they will receive a portion of the animal.[1]

A type of phalanger is found in the bush and is also hunted. Two men go off to the bush together, and, if an animal is sighted in a tree, one man climbs up while the other waits below. The man up the tree will shake the branch on which the animal is, or, if there is a vine, pull it. As the animal falls down the man below catches it. The two men break the legs of the animal and later at home kill it by strangling.

BASKETRY AND WEAVING

Baskets are of the most simple, crude type, and are merely the plaited leaf of the coconut tree. Both men and women make them, each for their own use. They last but a short time, and then new ones are made. The woman has her own basket in which she carries the produce from the garden. The man will hastily make a basket to carry the remains of food home from a feast. A man will also always have a very small envelope-shaped basket in which to carry his betel-nut, his *lest* (powdered lime), tobacco, pipe, etc. There is no decoration on any of the baskets, and they are all of a temporary and crude type.[2]

The only weaving is that of fishing-nets, and this is done by the men only. Not all men can weave the nets, but a few are noted for their skill in it; these few at the present time are old men. The fiber is vine from the bush. One end of the

[1] The pig-hunting is taken from descriptions given to me by men who were hunters. I did not accompany any of them on their hunting expeditions.

[2] But the natives were extremely interested in some rather ornate baskets from Ceylon that I had with me, and examined them with much eagerness.

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on. This was kept up all night. In the morning the women went again to the gardens and brought in more taro, while women from other villages arrived, also carrying taro, which they hung on bamboo poles fastened between trees. In the afternoon the women were busy scraping the taro and preparing it to be baked in the *liga*, while the men singed pigs, wrapped the fish in leaves, and did their share in the preparations for the feast which would take place tomorrow. The wailing continued at the same time. In charge of these preparations were Soles and Malalis.

That night the men danced. About fifty of them, decorated with leaves and carrying spears which are longer than they are, circled around the fire. To the music of the drums, they continued their dancing during the night. When one group stopped, another began. The dances were mostly of the abstract and rather intricate, circle, square, and line formation. One group had their bodies painted with white powdered lime, leaves stuck behind as if they were tails, and as they danced rhythmically shook the shell rattles they carried in their hands. Hour after hour they went on. The men and women in the "audience" sat separately and watched them. When the dancers appeared to lag, Tubung, the daughter of the dead woman, stood up, and holding a torch cried out that on the morrow they would receive tobacco. At daybreak they stopped. There was a little rest before the dead woman was carried into the cemetery. About the middle of the morning a group of twenty women of the Hawk moiety, their hair decorated with leaves, entered the compound singing. Tubung was wailing over the body of her dead mother. The group of women advanced in block formation to the coffin, and lifting it to their shoulders carried it into the cemetery. Tubung walked behind wailing. They deposited the coffin by the open grave which had previously been dug. The women immediately left the cemetery and stood weeping near the entrance. The men entered,